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ABSTRACT

This essay traces the history of the school reform movement from colonial times to the present. Public school reform tends either toward equalizing educational opportunity or higher academic achievement, but seldom both. The essay asks the question: Can public school provide equal educational opportunity and be excellent too? By tracing the historical development of public school reform through books, reports, notable educators, and educational trends, the search for the answer is elusive as the public tries to create a more nearly perfect public school system. Ranging from the academies and lyceums of the colonial era to the reform reports and movements of the 1980s and 1990s, the report concludes with an overview of Jonathan Kozol's "Savage Inequalities" to address the socioeconomic and political dilemmas confronting school reform. Contains 57 references. (EH)

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by

Franklin Parker

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Recurring School Reform

Public school reform tends either toward equalizing educational opportunity or higher academic achievement, but seldom both. The recurring question is: Can public schools provide equal educational opportunity and be excellent too?

From colonial times, schools served mainly elites with a traditional classical curriculum. Classics gave way to liberal arts, and more recently to subjects reflecting western values and national economic needs. Immigration, industrialization, and urbanization changed America's socio-economic-political conditions. As lower class children, including girls, entered school, democratic concern for the many challenged traditional elite education for the fortunate few. The trend to equalize educational opportunity has been resisted by traditional education advocates who put national above individual needs, future concerns over present needs, and eternal values over contemporary solutions.

The following books, reports, educators, and trends trace the elusive search for a more nearly perfect public school system.

Academies, 1749-1870s

Benjamin Franklin, as a printer's apprentice in London, learned about Britain's academies, begun by Quakers, Baptists, and other non-Church of England dissenters whose sons could not attend Anglican-controlled Oxford and Cambridge. Franklin praised academies' practical curriculum, terminal nature, commercial relevance, and enlightened

coeducation (Franklin 1744, 1978). He helped begin the first academy in Philadelphia, 1753. Latin grammar schools dominated from 1635 to the 1750s, were supplanted by academies, 1750s to the 1870s, and were supplanted by high schools after Michigan State Supreme Court Justice T. M. Cooley ruled, Kalamazoo case, 1872, that Michigan communities could tax themselves to support public high schools.

Women's Education

E. H. Willard's petition to the New York state legislature for a woman's college in 1819 (Willard 1819) led to the founding of the (New York) Female Seminary, 1821, first women's school of higher learning, renamed, 1895, the Emma Willard School, Troy, New York. In 1963, Betty Friedan's book, *Feminine Mystique*, launched the modern women's movement. While married women keep family and homes going, Friedan wrote, they also need to advance their own education and careers (Friedan 1963). Title IX of the 1972 Higher Education Act gave women equal status under federal law.

Lyceums and Adult Education, 19th Century

Early nineteen century Americans, starved for knowledge, eagerly accepted the Lyceum Movement. Founder J. Holbrook, a Yale College graduate and teacher, organized the first lyceum in Millbury, Mass., November 1826. (Holbrook 1829). Lyceums were lecture halls and funds with agency-supplied speakers. By 1835, 3,000 American towns had lyceums, with such lecturers as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Abraham Lincoln. For a small fee audiences were enlightened on popular topics. Lyceums were enlarged by Chautauqua, a secular outgrowth of the Methodist training center for Sunday school teachers, 1873, Lake Chautauqua, New York.

19th Century McGuffey Readers

McGuffey *Eclectic Readers* , published 1836-57, were widely read in schools and homes. A Cincinnati publisher invited C. E. Beecher to write such readers. She declined, recommending W. H. McGuffey, a Presbyterian minister then teaching at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. His *First Reader*, an illustrated alphabet, and *Second Reader* were issued in 1836. The *Third Reader*, containing short stories, and *Fourth Reader*, with lessons in natural history and physics, appeared in 1837. A brother, Alexander McGuffey, produced a speller and a *Rhetorical Guide* in 1844, expanded the speller into *Advanced Fifth Reader and Advanced Sixth Reader*, in 1857. The over 125 million copies of McGuffey *Readers* sold are said to have influenced Americans more than any other book except the Bible. The *Readers* reflected a puritanical Protestant Christianity; stressed good conduct, industry, sobriety, thrift, modesty, punctuality, and conformity. Virtue led to success and riches. Wrongdoing was punished. Church and state were in harmony. Patriotism and manifest destiny were unquestioned. The *Fifth* and *Sixth Readers*, with selections from the classics, took for granted that young readers would understand new words in context or that teachers and parents would explain difficult passages. Besides helping to shape American character, the recent return of McGuffey *Readers* to some schools shows a nostalgia for lost common experiences and lost national pride (Parker 1981).

Pragmatism: Peirce, James, Dewey

C. S. Peirce first used the term "pragmatism" in a January 1878 *Popular Science Monthly* article. Concerned with the practical effects of a theory, phenomenon, act, or idea, he said that the test of anything is in its use; its practical consequence. Does it work or solve the problem? Peirce, a mathematician and occasional lecturer at Harvard and the Johns Hopkins universities, worked for the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. His ideas about pragmatism, discussed by Harvard's Metaphysical Club, influenced member William James, Harvard philosophy and psychology professor and Peirce's friend. James

popularized pragmatism in his books, *Principles of Psychology* (James 1890); *Talks to Teachers on Psychology* (James 1900), and Varieties *of Religious Experience* (James 1902). Pragmatism fitted Americans' frontier spirit, trial and error attitude, and practical bent. Only recently has the moral tone of pragmatism been corrupted to mean "whatever works is good."

Committee of Ten, 1893

The National Education Association's Committee of Ten report supported the same subjects for the college-bound, then under ten percent, as for the majority leaving school for work. The report recommended a four-year high school curriculum of English, history, science, mathematics, and a foreign language. Chairman C. W. Eliot, Harvard University president, and the five other college presidents on the committee thus formalized college entrance by standardizing the high school curriculum. This report, perpetuating a higher education-oriented traditional high school, came when the United States was changing from a simpler rural agrarian society to a complex urban industrial society, whose needs the report failed to address.(NEA 1893).

Flexner's Medical Education, Report, 1910

Turn-of-the-century efforts to professionalize medicine led to Abraham Flexner's 1910 medical education report (Flexner 1910). From a large poor Louisville, Ky. family, Flexner attended the new (1876) Johns Hopkins University, America's first graduate university, which, like its German university model, pursued original research. Flexner then ran in Louisville a successful private school tutoring students for entrance to ivy league colleges. He left to study at Harvard University in 1905, then studied under his physician brother S. Flexner at New York's Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, and then went abroad to study further at Heidelberg University, Germany. His book,

critical of the American college (Flexner 1908), impressed Henry Smith Pritchett, president, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, founded 1905. Bent on improving medical education, Pritchett asked Flexner to make a national study of medical education. Flexner compared the 155 United States and Canadian medical schools against the standards of the Johns Hopkins Medical School and the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research,. Newspaper publicity about his critical reports caused diploma mill-type medical schools to close and weak medical schools to merge. The report triggered medical education reform already in formation. He capped his career as foundation executive by founding and directing the first "think tank," the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, whose first professor, A. Einstein, he brought from Germany to the United States.

Attempts to professionalize teaching to a comparably high status as medicine or law has been less successful. There is promise in National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, established in 1986 by the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, discussed below.

J. Dewey and Progressive Education

Peirce defined, James popularized, and Dewey embraced pragmatism, along with child-centered, activity-oriented, broad-curriculum public schools for all. Dewey taught in public schools for three years before entering the Johns Hopkins University doctoral program. He taught at the University of Michigan, where he also examined high schools for state accreditation. Invited to head a combined philosophy, sociology, and education department at newly opened (1891) University of Chicago, Dewey also directed its experimental laboratory school, 1896-1903. He was influenced by Jane Addams' Hull House, a Chicago settlement house that eased immigrants' adjustment to a new environment; and by F. W. Parker, Cook County Norman School director, a progressive educator who had studied Froebel's learning-through-play kindergarten ideas in Germany.

At the Lab School, Dewey introduced moveable furniture to facilitate group work, encouraged child-centered learning, student discussion, field trips, and library research. Wanting students to be independent, knowledgeable, and cooperative citizens for a country now urban, industrialized, and complex, his early books (Dewey 1897; 1899; 1902) and his best known book, *Democracy and Education* (Dewey 1916), defended a democratic, child-centered, broad curriculum school to enrich both student lives and general welfare.

Seven Cardinal Principles , 1918

The NEA's 1918 cardinal principles report offered a wide curriculum that fit Dewey' egalitarian approach The report recommended seven educational purposes: health, command of fundamental processes (basic skills), worthy home membership, vocation, worthy use of leisure, citizenship, and ethical character (NEA 1918). The new curriculum took hold slowly in a few suburban schools under enlightened educators. Traditional education, then and now, dominated United States public schools.

Middletown, USA, 1929

Middletown, fictional name for Muncie, Ind., was studied by sociologists R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd in the 1920s (Lynd and Lynd 1929), again in the 1930s (Lynd and Lynd 1937), and by their student, T. Caplow, in 1982 (Caplow, Bahr, Chadwick, Hill, and Williamson 1982). The studies found more divorces, drugs, pornography, minorities, some tolerance toward minorities, and somewhat more respect for schools and teachers. A century of sociological studies in Muncie, Ind., found more continuity than change--continuity of traditional values, class divisions, and more enthusiasm for school sports than for school learning.

Social Reconstruction, 1930s

Vast unemployment in the Great Depression shocked Americans. Capitalism and democracy were on trial, with fascism and communism abroad and extremists rising at home. Teachers College Columbia University (TCCU) Professor G. S. Counts asked fellow progressive educators to go beyond a child-centered approach, avoid neutrality on controversial matters, help students frankly confront socio-economic-political problems, propose solutions, and bring about change (Counts 1932). Counts and other Social Reconstructionists made little headway against traditional thought dominating the school curriculum and teaching methods.

Social Reconstructionist and TCCU colleague H. O. Rugg, through his controversial social studies textbooks, drew conservative fire. As psychologist at TCCU's experimental Lincoln School, he wrote and used successful social studies textbooks, merged in critical fashion history, civics, geography, sociology, anthropology, and economics. By questioning excesses of capitalism in his social studies textbooks, he became a prime target of conservatives. During patriotic fervor, 1939-41, his books were challenged, removed, and burned in some school districts (Rugg 1941). A resurgence of Social Reconstructionism came during President. L. B. Johnson's Great Society period, 1964-68. Enthusiasm for and the temporary effects of President Johnson's Job Corps, Project Head Start, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and other Great Society education acts waned with student protests against the Vietnam War.

Eight-Year Study, 1933-41

To prove child-centered schools superior to traditional schools, the Progressive Education Association (PEA) sponsored an eight-year study, 1933-41 (Aikin 1942), comparing academic progress of students from 15 traditional and 15 progressive high schools through four years of high school and four years of college. The study claimed that the more experimental the high school curriculum, the greater the student success in college

(Strickland 1986). But conservatives believed the study flawed and discounted its findings (Madaus and Stufflebeam 1989).

Conant Reports, 1950s-60s

President of Harvard University J. B. Conant urged public school reforms long before the nation accepted them. His unsuccessful attempt to get agreement on public school goals (Conant 1948) was achieved when President Bush got state governors at an education summit, University of Virginia, September 1989, to agree on six, later eight, national education goals.

Conant held that American high schools must be comprehensive, large enough to have science and language teachers and laboratories, offer a varied curriculum, and uphold high standards (Conant 1959; 1967). He sounded an unheeded early alarm about rising drug use, crime, and violence in urban schools (Conant 1961).

Conant recommendations about professionalizing teachers (Conant 1963) are, 30 years later, are urged by the Holmes Group, composed of research university education deans (Holmes Group 1990), and by J. I. Goodlad, director, Center for Educational Renewal, University of Washington (Goodlad, Soder, and Sirotnik 1990) described below.

As American ambassador to West Germany, 1955-57, Conant saw state ministers of education share problems and goals through regular meetings while retaining decentralized state school systems. His urging similar sharing by American state governors in regular meetings (Conant 1965) led to the Interstate Compact on Education, February 18, 1966. Its descendant, the Education Commission of the States, administers the National Assessment of Educational Progress, which tests and compares students' academic attainment by states and regions. Conant anticipated such 1990s trends as academically strong high schools, improved teacher education, national public school goals, and state-by-state measuring of student achievement Some 30 years later, 1994,

President Bill Clinton signed legislation which sets and tests for school subject achievement standards (National Education Goals Panel 1992).

J. Bruner's *Process of Education* , 1961

The National Academy of Sciences brought together traditionally antagonistic subject matter specialists and professional educators who blamed each other for low student educational attainment. From the resulting clash, Harvard University psychologist J. S. Bruner, recording secretary of that conference, developed his conceptual approach to learning (Bruner 1961). Like Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget, whose books he introduced to the United States, Bruner believed that any subject can be taught to any child at any age if the material is logically organized and sequentially presented. This justification of conceptual learning led to a new way to teach biology, chemistry, mathematics, and social studies. Reaction to Soviet satellite Sputnik, October 5, 1957, made large funds available from the National Science Foundation and the 1958 National Defense Education Act. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Professor J. Zacharias organized government-funded summer institutes for teachers to learn the new curricula and new textbooks. This funding declined after the 1960s-70s because, critics said, concept-minded middle class students alone benefited, not the many who lacked family support of books at home, table talk, and early childhood learning experiences. Bruner's approach also faded because of the 1973 oil crisis, inflation, mounting Vietnam War costs, and consequent slowed national economy.

Open Education, 1960s-70s

Britain's progressive educator A. S.. Neill's *Summerhill,* defending his experimental private child-centered school (Summerhill, England), heralded the American open education movement (Neill 1960). Limited classroom space in Britain's World War II bombed school buildings forced teachers to use hallways and other open spaces for

individual and small-to-large group instruction. American educator J. Featherstone wrote admiringly of Leicestershire's creative infant schools in *New Republic* articles (August 8 and September 9, 1967) and elsewhere (Featherstone 1971). City College of New York Education Professor L. Weber's writings (Weber 1971) and workshops on British infant schools also promoted open education. Britain's Plowden Report officially endorsed progressive primary schools (Plowden 1967).

M. Harrington's *The Other America: Poverty in the U.S.*. portrayed urban poor hidden in tenements and rural poor hidden from major highways (Harrington 1960). Resulting national concern over poverty influenced J. F. Kennedy, who as president created a Task Forces on Education and Poverty. His assassination, November 22, 1963, led to quick passage of President L. B. Johnson's Great Society education programs. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1965, Section 1 (now Chapter 1), funding school districts on the basis of families living below the poverty line, was used by many school districts to start open classrooms.

Open education was furthered by critic Ivan Illich, who suggested replacing ineffective public schools with adult-learner cooperative networks (Illich 1970), and by compassionate critics like John Holt. His best-selling books anguished over insuperable obstacles to reach, teach, and save failure-prone and poorly prepared urban minorities and whites (John Holt 1964; 1970; 1972).

Other compassionate teacher-writers were Jonathan Kozol, National Book Award winner for *Death at an Early Age* (Kozol 1967); Herbert Kohl, who told how he abandoned a traditional curriculum to reach 36 East Harlem black sixth graders (Kohl 1968); Nat Hentoff, whose graphic book title was *Our Children Are Dying*.(Hentoff 1966); George Dennison, who told of his New York City slum school experience (Dennison 1969); and Charles E. Silberman, whose Carnegie-Corporation financed study defended open education it declined (Silberman 1970; 1973).

Open education died because teachers were not trained in its techniques and because the Vietnam War depleted needed school funds. Advocates saw open education during its heyday as a creative period in American education. Opponents saw it as chaotic as new teachers, not prepared in its techniques, added their ineptitude to its noisy din.

Nation at Risk, 1983

Utah educator T. H. Bell told how President Reagan reluctantly appointed him cabinet member, specifically charged to eliminate or reduce the United States Department of Education (Bell 1988). Partly for the National Education Association's two million member votes and because he believed public education deserved cabinet-level attention, President Jimmy Carter removed Education from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and elevated it to cabinet status in 1979.

Bell had been served in the U.S. Office of Education in the Nixon and Ford Administrations. To save the department, he appointed an investigating 18-member National Commission on Excellence in Education. All but Bell believed their report would be ignored.

A Nation at Risk was printed in full in many newspapers and magazines. Its telling phrases included: "Our nation is at risk" because of "a rising tide of mediocrity" in education. "Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world." "History is not kind to idlers." "We live among determined, well-educated and strongly motivated competitors."

On 19 international tests, the report stated, American students were never first or second and were last on seven. Other industrial nations' students spend more hours daily and yearly in school. Thirteen percent of all U.S. 17-year-olds and almost 40 percent of minority students are functionally illiterate.

For high school graduation, the report recommended four years of English, three years each of science and social studies, two years of foreign language, and a half-year of computer science.(United .States. Department of Education, 1983). The report, which affirmed and updated the 1893 Committee of Ten and the J. B. Conant high school reports, became a media event.

President Reagan, who had reduced federal aid to education through block grants to the states ("get government off our backs"), first ignored the report. When praise for it poured in, he embraced it and was televised at public schools for the first time. Having prodded President Reagan into educational leadership and jarred the public to reform public schools, Bell resigned in late 1984 to teach educational administration at the University of Utah. Three years after *A Nation at Risk* appeared 41 states raised their high school graduation requirements, 33 states initiated student competency tests, 30 states required teacher competency tests, 24 states started teacher career and salary enhancement programs, and Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores rose.

A Nation at Risk's tenth anniversary, April 1993, brought this reflection from J. I. Goodlad: What the National Commission did not tell us was that our society had changed fundamentally, that before 1983 there had been a turnaround in SAT and other test scores. Education reform, exciting in the 1960s, ended about 1968. *A Nation at Risk* blamed schools when it should have blamed changed conditions which politicians in power did not recognize and could not remedy. School problems arise from unaddressed social problems. How do we meet the needs of children coming to school speaking 50 or more different home languages or who are malnourished? We need massive early childhood education. Politicians cannot turn American society around on the backs of its schools (Asayesh 1993).

H. M. Levin, Stanford University, concerned at the report's neglect of at-risk students, explained: *A Nation at Risk* wrongly blamed schools for our economic faults. It

demanded high standards in secondary schools but was not concerned with at-risk elementary school students. Our top 10-to-15 percent of students are getting as good an education as any in the world. We can and should do much more to improve the next 35 percent. But the bottom 50 percent is a disaster. *A Nation as Risk* generated debate, but that debate is among political groups with narrow interests. Educators are fighting a battle against increasing odds. Poverty rates keep going up. Of California's 200,000 new students a year, 80 percent have limited English proficiency. *A Nation at Risk* promoted top-down reform, which has not worked. School reform requires better home life, better health, community support, and visionary political and educational leaders willing to take risks (Asayesh 1993).

P. C. Schlechty, president, Center for Leadership in School Reform, commented: *A Nation at Risk* raised public and political awareness, but the authors did not have the problem right. They wanted to improve the current system but failed to recognize the need to reinvent a better system. Our schools were designed at a time when we did well if 15 percent of students got a high quality of education and the rest could read. Now we expect 95 percent of students to have a high quality of education. The negative part of the report was that it beat up on students, teachers, and the system; made them feel threatened. Even when all are doing their best in the existing system, it is not enough. We need systemic change. Merely bypassing the existing system won't work. To restructure schools, you must also restructure the community. The public, business people, and educators must change fundamentally the way the system is put together. If we can revitalize the entire society in the next 20 years, we can have an educational system where 95 percent of students can succeed (Asayesh 1993).

T. R. Sizer, Brown University professor and chair, Coalition of Essential Schools, wrote: *A Nation at Risk* did not include many veteran teacher members. It may have been on target politically in creating a sense of urgency but was wrong in its top-down reform.

Blame for the rising tide of mediocrity should have been put on TV and on dishonest politics. At least now we have constructive turmoil; different ideas are heard and tried. Systemic changes must be governed by what's right for students. Beware the drift away from trusting local communities. It is scary to think that the state knows better than the community and that the nation knows better than the state. We need the political willingness to change the old structure (Asayesh 1993).

National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS), 1986

State certification for teachers has been at minimum-to-average ability levels. Somewhat higher standards have been set by professional subject matter organizations. Accreditation of teacher education programs by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) also helps. But NCATE is voluntary. In recent years, fewer than half of the 1,300 colleges and universities that prepare teachers have been NCATE-investigated. NCATE takes a year of faculty time to prepare and averages $60,000 per team visitation.

In 1986, the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy proposed a higher standards plan for certifying teachers nationally, above and beyond state certification. The hope was that nationally certified "best teachers" would be highly esteemed, eagerly hired, and professionally paid by school boards and school districts (Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy 1986). With American Federation of Teachers and NEA backing, and with foundation grants, the 64-member NBPTS (32 members are classroom teachers) hired research teams to prepare meticulous tests to measure what superior teachers should be able to teach in 30 subject areas (early childhood education, high school English, middle school math, and other subjects). State-certified teachers with three or more years' teaching experience may apply for national board examinations, take subject content tests at assessment centers, be evaluated in a simulated clinical teaching experience, show their portfolios of past experiences, show videos of their best teaching,

and if they pass, become nationally certified. This process began experimentally in 1993-94. Yet to be seen is the degree of acceptance of NBPTS-certified teachers and the willingness of school boards to hire and pay them professional salaries.

J. I. Goodlad's Centers of Pedagogy (CP) and Holmes Group's Professional Development Schools (PD schools), 1990

The problem remains of how to attract and professionally prepare as teachers the very brightest youths who have preferred more rewarding and prestigious careers in medicine, law, and engineering. Two leading groups on teacher education reform are J. I. Goodlad's Center for Educational Renewal at the University of Washington and the Holmes Group, a coalition of research university education deans.

In visiting colleges that prepare and schools that employ 25 percent of all elementary and secondary school teachers, Goodlad found a disturbing turnover of higher education leaders responsible for teacher education. He found that schools of education lacked coherence, made little effort to recruit students, had no clear entry point, had too few minority students, and emphasized "practical" teacher education while neglecting the "moral" aspects of preventing dropouts.

Goodlad proposed pilot Centers of Pedagogy (CP), places where arts, sciences, and teacher education faculties work with public school teachers and administrators--all from nearby institutions--to prepare the best possible teachers. The CP pilot centers, each with its own faculty, budget, and particular strengths, constitute a university-school collaboration, using many public schools (not just one "lab school"), where student teachers are instructed by composite faculties from public schools, university colleges of education, and university arts and sciences departments. Working with the CP centers, each funded for five years by the Exxon Education Foundation, are two organizations--the Education Commission of the States, to facilitate communication among the sites and

help make state governments more open to teacher education reform, and the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education to spread information about center-oriented teacher education reform projects and progress (Goodlad, Soder, and Sirotnik 1990).

Goodlad's central thesis is that preparing teachers for children in a political democracy is a moral responsibility. Recent school reform has been driven by an economic motive, to prepare young people for jobs that advance the national economy. Goodlad's emphasis is that teaching and teacher education involve moral imperatives.(Goodlad, Soder, and Sirotnik 1990).

The Holmes Group suggested Professional Development Schools (PD Schools), similar to Goodlad's Centers of Pedagogy. Holmes Group PD School model is the teaching hospital where medical student interns (i.e., teacher education students) learn to heal patients (i.e., to teach public school students) under medical school faculty supervision (i.e., subject matter professors and education professors, cooperating with public school teachers and administrators). Holmes PD Schools are sited in selected elementary and secondary schools where university arts and science professors and education professors work with teachers and school administrators to design curriculum, conduct research, train new teachers, and upgrade experienced teachers. The PD Schools idea is to integrate theory and practice; to initiate research that furthers curriculum development and aids teaching techniques (Holmes Group 1990).

F. Murray, University of Delaware's education dean and a Holmes Group leader, found that a similarly skilled teacher would likely result from either the Goodlad or the Holmes teacher education programs. The Holmes plan stressed teachers' cognitive and intellectual skills while Goodlad emphasized teachers' values. The heart of Goodlad's plan, says Murray, is the Center of Pedagogy, an administrative unit with budget autonomy and power to name arts, sciences, and education professors, and public school

teachers and administrators--all collaborating on improving teacher education. Unlike present schools of education, which are units within and make use of university resources, a Center of Pedagogy is autonomous in selecting, planning, and coordinating experts to prepare teachers. Murray admires Goodlad's concern for the moral dimension of teaching and agrees with Goodlad that low-cost teacher education is an illusion. Since only half of teacher education graduates go into teaching and half of these leave within five years, the cost of producing one lifelong teacher is as much as the cost to train a physician.

Goodlad's Centers of Pedagogy and the Holmes Group's PD Schools are new, more promising approaches to improved teacher preparation than offered in traditional colleges of education. Each plan seems sound but costly. Yet to be seen is the educational establishment's acceptance of either plan (or a merged plan),and the nation's willingness to promote and pay the cost.

Choice, 1990

J. E. Chubb and T. M. Moe declare only that market forces can improve schools. If state money goes with students to the school of parents' choice, then better quality schools will attract more students and more money; poor quality schools will be forced to improve or close. Choice frees educators from bureaucratic interference and gives parents the opportunity to move their children to better schools (Chubb and Moe 1990).

The NEA's opposing view is that choice will destroy public schools. Well-off parents always have a choice and send about 10 percent of all school age children to private schools. But for state or federal government to help financially replace present public schools with choice plans would bring enough lawsuits to keep an army of lawyers busy for years. Public schools with minorities and the poor will suffer if middle class students

leave and their parents' tax support is withdrawn. Still, recent Gallup polls find over 60 percent of Americans support choice. Milwaukee was the first to use state money for choice, paying $2,500 per child for low-income and mainly black and Hispanic children whose parents transferred them from public to private nonreligious schools using Milwaukee public schools funds. Choice experiments in Milwaukee, in Harlem in New York City, and elsewhere are being carefully watched. Advocates believe choice will sweep America.

Congress did not pass either President Reagan's plan for choice in both public and private (including religious) schools or President Bush's plan for choice in public schools. President Clinton favors choice in public schools. Opponents see choice as a dire threat to tax-supported public schools.

Chubb and Moe's case for choice was based on sociologist J. F. Coleman's finding that private Catholic schools are superior to public schools. Coleman's finding, in turn, was based on a 10-year *High School and Beyond* study. University of Wisconsin at Madison Political Science Professor J. F. Witte and others found the original study flawed. They doubt Coleman's finding as basis for Chubb and Moe's assertion. Professor Witte's research is little known.

Kozol, *Savage Inequalities*, 1991

Jonathan Kozol holds that poor minorities need equal education expenditures as well as equal opportunity. He taught black children in Boston's poor Roxbury section, resulting in *Death at an Early Age*, 1967, National Book Award winner. His *Rachel and Her Children*, described homeless children and their bad schools (Kozol, 1988). His *Savage Inequalities*, told of filthy, crowded schools in 30 population centers (Kozol, 1991). "Public schools...are more separate and less equal than...when I began," he wrote. "Racial segregation has been, and continues to be, largely uncontested." He pictures

America's poor children as condemned to schools that are underfunded, understaffed, physically crumbling, and full of despair.

Good suburban schools are good because they are well funded, wrote Kozol; bad slum schools are bad because they are underfunded. It is that simple. He disputes conservatives who say that you don't improve schools by throwing money at them. Money does help and is as essential as equal educational opportunity. Reviewers called Kozol's book "impassioned..., laced with anger and indignation about how our public education system scorns so many of our children."

Afterword

When national problems of a socio-economic or political nature become crucial, they evoke school reforms that are debated, tried, and usually result in compromise that eases the problem for a time. Other national crises bring on other school reforms, ending again in compromise, the easing or acceptance of crisis, and so the cycle continues.

Behind school reform are socio-economic-political dilemmas: Should public schools serve elites, the masses, or both? What should be the curriculum mix, administrative arrangement, teaching methods? Who pays? Can public schools serve both individual and national needs while combating drug use, crime, violence, and other social ills? Can schools counter the weakened family and waning church influence?

The above overview of books, reports, educators, and events shows America's ongoing search for the perfect public school system.

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